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INDISPUTABLE FACTS

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SUTTONIAN ART

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I N O C U L A T I O N,

W I T H

OBSERVATIONS

O N I T S


DISCOVERY, PROGRESS, ENCOURAGEMENT,
OPPOSITION, &c. &c.

By ROBERT HOULTON, M. A.
Late of St. Mary Magdalen College, OXFORD.

D U B L I N:

PRINTED BY W. G. JONES, IN SUFFOLK-STREET,


M,DCC,LXVIII.



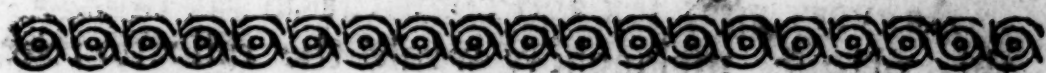
Advertisement.

THE Author begs leave to inform the public, that he has long been conversant in the method of Inoculation treated of in the following pages; has been several years entrusted, by the Sutton-family, with all the secrets of their practice and medicines; with the principal conduct of their foreign business and connections, and is now commissioned by them, by articles authenticated under the great Seal of London, to regulate and extend their art over the Kingdom of Ireland. This commission he shall use his utmost endeavours to execute in the best manner for the safety and benefit of the public in general; by giving the greatest attention to the practice, and taking into partnership men of abilities and eminence in their profession.

Mr. Samuel Whyte's, Grafton-street,
Dublin, April 5, 1768.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE Small-pox, tho' not a native of Great-Britain, has been so long ingrafted in it, that it is now become a general and national disease. Nor is it ever possible to banish it from these realms, without dropping all intercourse with foreign nations, and putting a stop to a commerce that extends to every part of the globe. This consideration of the universality, added to the subtle contagion and speedy fatality of the Small-pox, throws a gloom, in general, on people's minds, and gives them the utmost disquietude, in not being secure from the attack of so dangerous an enemy to life. And indeed, the distress of such persons is not to be adjudged a ridiculous and extravagant apprehension, since daily experience confirms a havock made by this distemper; aggravated, perhaps, with the sudden loss of an affectionate husband, a tender wife, an only child, or a sincere friend. With several, the apprehension operates so forcibly, that no inconsiderable detriment to their affairs ensue. For how many weighty concerns of business are neglected, and how many lucky opportunities are refused, from a dread of meeting this mortal foe! And when pleasure invites to public amusements, how frequently does the alarming thought spoil mirth, and *make the heart in "the midst of joy, sorrowful."*

As every age, sex and constitution are subject to this plague, melancholy would the reflection be, was not inoculation, that happy means, discovered to alleviate the distemper, and free us from the ravages and danger of it. But happy as the discovery was for mankind, Inoculation, like other Arts, has been extremely slow in its progress; owing, perhaps, to the sluggish genius of the country where first practised, or to the prejudices of those nations, where introduced and attempted to be established. But its progress, in Europe, seems to have been much retarded by the ill success of the first artists; whose patients (exclusive of many that died) had the disease so extremely heavy, that little essential difference was perceived between the natural Small-pox, and that conveyed by inoculation.——However within the last twelve years the practice of inoculation has taken rapid strides towards the summit of perfection; has broken loose from the shackles of ignorance and prejudice, and like the sun, unveiled from a thick cloud, shines, at this moment, in its full splendour.——

The merit of this perfection I shall readily attribute, without the least apprehension of being contradicted, to the skill and indefatigable labours of the Sutton family, who now practice inoculation in England with the most singular and unparalleled success; and who, by means of respectable partners are extending their art over all Europe, as will more fully appear in the following Treatise.

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RELATIVE TO THE

SUTTONIAN ART, &c,

IT may not be improper to premise the reasons that induced the author to trouble the public with these observations. The Suttonian art of inoculation having met with considerable encouragement in Ireland from the practice of Messrs. Blake and Sparrow, surgeons and partners to the Sutton-family, and many applications from several of the faculty in this kingdom having been made, requesting to be appointed agents for extending said practice; the author was fixed on to be sent to execute this business, to instruct and appoint partners in the Sutton name, and to use every means to put their art on the most safe and respectable footing. On his arrival, a few days since in Dublin, he found that several unfavourable aspersions had been thrown out against the practice, which, false, unreasonable, and unphysical (if I may so speak) as they are, have gained ground, tho' they seem but too evidently the artifice of those whose interest is more immediately hurt by the Suttonian art. Be this as it may, I have thought it necessary to lay before the public several circumstances, from which they will be better

ter enabled to draw conclusions and form opinions of the practice, than from flying and suspicious report. At the same time, perhaps, the writer does not vainly flatter himself, that the following pages will give satisfaction to many in this kingdom, who wish to have a particular information of a practice so singular and successful in itself, so much calculated for the safety and happiness of mankind, and which is so rapidly extending over the world.

The æra of the Suttonian discoveries in the art of inoculation was 1755. And here for a moment would I stop and ask, who is the man that will step forth and say, *He inoculated in the present method before that period!* Some practitioners have since, indeed, privately picked up the sapless limbs which the Suttons lopped from their tree of knowledge; but these, if their conscience governs, must acknowledge the genuine root, notwithstanding they will never be able, *without leave and assistance* to climb the tree and taste the fruit. But to the purpose—Mr. Robert Sutton, sen. who is now living in Framingham-Earl, near Norwich in England, is by profession a surgeon and apothecary, and acted as such many years before he practised inoculation. I mention this circumstance the more fully, because it has been insinuated, among other things, in order to discredit his art, that the inventor could lay but little claim to medical erudition. But notwithstanding many valuable discoveries might and have been made, in the arts and sciences, by men who are no proficient there in, yet the above insinuation is totally groundless; and will give the propagator of it an opportunity of being ashamed by his own enquiry. I have the happiness to be most intimately acquainted with Mr. Sutton, and am positive that his skill in medicine infinitely exceeds the knowledge of
many

many a pragmatical coxcomb who has censured his practice. But his skill, if compared to his disposition, is rivalled; and the many hundreds of poor he has ordered to be inoculated gratis, has deservedly gained him an esteem in his neighbourhood, which few can boast of. But however pleasing it may be for me to dwell on his private character, I shall hasten to bring him on the stage of the public.

Some little time before the above memorable æra, Mr. Sutton had his eldest son inoculated by a surgeon of his acquaintance. He had the Small-pox extremely heavy, and it was with the utmost difficulty that his life was saved. Mr. Sutton was so much concerned and tortured, as it were, for a while, for the fate of his son; and the extreme danger to which he had exposed him, had such an effect on his mind, that he determined, from the moment of his recovery, to dedicate his thoughts solely to the Small-pox; to endeavour to investigate a means, whereby the force of that distemper might be lessened, and danger, if possible, prevented by inoculation. After some months intense study and consideration, he had conceived (as he expresses it) a confused number of things, relative to medicine, operation, manner of conducting patients thro' the several stages of the disorder, &c. &c. which were so interwoven in his brain, that his greatest difficulty (as he asserts) was to reduce his thoughts into any order. This however, was at length performed, and his plan had the appearance of regularity at least. But all was yet untried, and doubt and diffidence were powerful. On a maturer examination of his plans, hope rather than confidence was predominant. 'Twas probable, he said, that he might succeed, and his intention was good.—As he cannot, it is impossible for me to describe the alternate agi-

tations of his mind. Let it suffice to say, that after many wavering resolutions he determined to make an experiment of his new and singular plan. He did so, but had previously taken the greatest precaution, and saw that the patient observed the strictest preparation and regimen. The issue of his experiment made him the happiest of men. He quickly repeated it, and with equal success. A series of trials soon followed, and convinced him that he had made some valuable discoveries for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. This reflection, he has assured me, carried with it an infinite recompence of reward; which, I am confident, from my knowledge of the man, is the only recompence he would have wished to receive, had not the thought of benefiting his large family by the discovery, tenderly and naturally occurred. And who, with candour and justice, can stigmatise this intention with the epithets, mean and selfish! The government has frequently honoured far less noble discoveries with ample premiums: on which account, I would intimate, with the utmost submission, that had a public reward been offered, the Sutton family would have long since divulged every essential article of their practice. But this being adjudged undeserved, or perhaps, never thought of, the Suttons have endeavoured, by means of partners, to render their art general, for the benefit of mankind, and for their own private emolument.

Mr. Sutton, at the time of his discoveries, had eight sons, most of them getting into manhood, and three daughters. His first step therefore, after he had the fullest conviction of the justness of his practice, was to communicate to his three eldest sons the principles of his method of inoculation.——Here was an interval of some years, during which I can give the reader no other satisfaction

faction, than that these sons continued with their father, under his instruction, and endeavoured jointly with him, from rather a private and confined practice, to discover, if possible, any new lights, that might tend to render their future practice more accurate and perfect.——About the year 1761, the abovementioned sons were on the point of separating, in order to make public and establish their singular method of inoculation; which intention seemed to have been retarded by a melancholy accident in the family; no less than the sudden death of the second son (if I mistake not) who was unfortunately killed on the spot, as he was one day out a shooting, and carelessly going through a hedge with his gun cocked. Soon after however the eldest son, Mr. Robert Sutton settled at Bury St. Edmonds, a capital place in the adjoining county of Suffolk. Here the practice met with considerable encouragement; more indeed than could be expected, as it was diametrically contrary to the then prevailing method. But still it was confined to a small district; nor had Fame as yet sounded her trumpet for these candidates. The success, notwithstanding, that the eldest son met with, encouraged the third son, Mr. Daniel Sutton, to settle at Ingatestone in Essex the adjoining County to his brother. This was about the latter end of the year 1762. For the first three months he had not a single patient, altho' he repeatedly advertised his practice in the county papers. Dispirited, and almost on the point of quitting the field, he thought of the expedient of inoculating some poor people gratis. But so great was apprehension, and prejudice so prevalent, that it was not without the most earnest intreaties he prevailed on a few to permit the operation.——Success smiled on him; and the patients were thankful;——In gratitude they were rich; their hearts were warm

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warm in his praise, but the tale was heard only at their humble fire's side. Yet poverty has its power, and humility, influence; for a few days after, two or three poor families voluntarily came to him, and begged the blessing of his art, as they expressed themselves. He rejoiced in the opportunity, and success was so much his friend, that not not one of the patients was confined a moment to bed. The united voices of these, added to the loud praise and positive declarations of the former, gained credit with some neighbouring families who rose somewhat above the level of poverty and distress. They were curious; they sought in themselves experience, and were convinced.—It would be no less tedious than frivolous to continue to shew by what slender beginnings, by what gradual steps, the practice, under Mr. Daniel Sutton, gained ground. In short, by the beginning of the year 1764, he had inoculated a very considerable number of patients from divers parts of Essex and other counties. But as an occurrence in his practice happened about this time, which as it is unprecedented, ought deservedly to be particularly mentioned.—The Small-Pox had broke out violently at the borough town of Malden in Essex; which daily swept off several of the inhabitants. The distemper not having been in the town for many years, greatly alarmed the people; who were the more concerned, as they were apprehensive their market would be ruined, if the disease continued any time. It was proposed therefore by the heads of the town, that every person should be inoculated who chose it. A subscription was instantly set on foot to defray the expences of inoculating the poor: Mr. Daniel Sutton was applied to; he undertook it on very reasonable terms, and on one day inoculated four hundred and seventeen poor, besides seventy of the trades-people and gentry. They

They were from eighty years of age down to one month;——the major part of them followed their particular occupations during the whole process;——not one died;——and in less than three weeks from the operation, not ten persons in the place remained to have the Small-pox. Speedy means were used to cleanse the town from infection: the market revived,——and the public were left in equal surprise and admiration of the safety of the practice, and skill of the operator. This fact is notorious, and is alone sufficient, in the eye of candour, to characterise and establish the Suttonian art for ever.

Fame now expanded her wings, and extensively proclaimed the merit and success of the Suttons. The father had large practice in Norfolk; Mr. Robert Sutton, jun. had full employment in Suffolk; and Mr. Daniel Sutton, more than he could attend, without the utmost fatigue, in Essex.——The father had not been idle neither in respect to his other sons; one of whom, William, he had already fixed at Barnet, about ten miles from London; where he was acquiring much business; and three others were almost qualified to follow the example of their brothers.——This was the situation of things, about the year 1765, when the sluices of malice, envy and detraction were opened against this new mode of inoculation. Old practitioners were alarmed for their practice; and many who had considerable incomes from attending patients under the natural Small-pox, afraid they should have nothing to do. It is scarce conceivable that human nature can be so depraved and cruel, as to oppose a practice because it lessens the weight of a most dreadful distemper. Or in other words, that there should be men so devoid of humanity, as privately to wish, from views of self interest, to see their fellow creatures labour under

under a most horrible disease, rather than encourage and recommend a practice, which subdues the tyrannous plague; and which, it can be demonstrated, has succeeded in above fifty thousand instances. I should think myself highly culpable to pass this severe censure did not the strongest evidence justify me. To such a length was the opposition carried in several parts, that prosecutions were commenced against the Suttons for nuisances; but which were as constantly quashed by lord Mansfield, or by Grand-juries. When the disappointed and inveterate enemies were baffled at law, they had recourse to dirty scurrility, and propogated the most mean and ridiculous falsehoods, Some reported it was not the Small-pox the Suttons inoculated; others, that their patients had the distemper a second time; some, that their medicines dissolved the bones of patients, which when broken could never be set again; others, that the dreadful effects would appear at some distant period; but when, or what effects nobody pretends to determine:——again, some reported that the Suttons inoculated other disorders with the Small-pox; others, that Bath, Scarborough, and Tunbridge were filled with their patients, labouring under divers dreadful distempers; with many such like aspersions, equally absurd and groundless.——Against the united opposition of a multitude did this practice stand; thro' all the dirt of scurrility has it waded, and over malice, envy, detraction and sophistry does it triumph.

The begining of the year 1766, Messrs. Suttons, particularly Mr. Daniel, had such extensive business, that it was impossible to carry it on without the assistance of partners. Mr. Peale, an eminent surgeon, was appointed for the county of Kent; in which he inoculated, within eight months, above five thousand persons with the loss only
of

of a carpenter's apprentice at Chatham in that county; which patient was proved by affidavits to have been four times drunk during his inoculation.——The practice having made, by this time, a great noise in London, Mr. Daniel Sutton was advised and much invited to remove from Ingatestone to Town, He soon complied with the numerous requests, and purchased a most elegant house, near Hyde-park, for the reception of patients.——The progress of the practice in several parts of England was now too rapid for my pen to keep pace with it. Every paper throughout the kingdom echoing with its success. Eminent physicians and surgeons were daily applying to the family to be appointed partners for particular counties, or for foreign parts. Connections have been made with many gentlemen of the faculty, while others continue still to apply for the purpose——Such was, and is, at this hour, the encouragement and popularity of the Suttonian art. As it may be satisfactory to the public, I shall here introduce an account of the present places of practice and residence of the Sutton family, and those of all the gentlemen now in actual partnership with them. This may also prevent the public from being imposed on by those pretenders, who advertise that they practice the *new method* of inoculation, or according to the *Suttonian method*. The names of such gentlemen, as may in future be appointed partners, especially in this kingdom, shall be publicly certified. At present, the following is a perfect list of all who are acquainted with the knowledge and principles of the Suttonian practice of Inoculation.

Mr. ROBERT SUTTON, sen.	}	Framingham-
		Earl,
		Norfolk.
		Mr

Mr. Robert Sutton, jun.	}	Paris	
Joseph Power, M. D. partner,			
Messrs. Dan. Sutton,	}	London.	
Will. Sutton,			
Peale, partner.			
Mr. Joseph Sutton,	}	Oxford.	
Gamble, partner.			
Mr. Tho. Sutton, Newport, Isle of Wight			
Mr. Jas. Sutton, Wakefield, Yorkshire,			
Mr. Huitt, son-in-law to Mr. Sutton,	}	Hague	
Alex. Sutherland, M. D. partner,			
Mr. Shuttleworth, son-in-law, &c.			
Birmingham, Warwickshire.			
Messrs. Rodbard,	}	Bristol	
Ford,			
Ludlow.			
Mr. Read,		Gloucester.	
Mr. Vaux,		Hereford.	
Mr Vaux, junior,		Worcester.	
Messrs. Tatum,	}	Salisbury,	
Wick.			
Mr. Jones,	}	Wilts	
Mr. Marsh,			
		Bradford,	
		Highworth,	
Messrs. Smiths,	}	Winchester,	
Mr. Jones,			
		Portsmouth,	
Messrs. Sampson,	}	Sherborn,	
Jey,			
		Maiden Newton,	
Mr. Afley	Tauton,	Somerset.	
Messrs Bromley,	Exeter,	}	Devon.
Hooper,	Plymouth,		
Mr. Campble,	Truro		Conwell.
Mr. Steed.	Ingatestone,		Essex.

Mr. Buck,	Ipswich,	Suffolst.
Mr. Argles,	Wisbeach	Cambridgesh.
Messrs. Ryne,	Chertsey,	} Surry.
Newland,	Guilford,	
Kerr,	Darking,	
Mr. Barnwell,		Sussex
Messrs. Lever,	} Dent,	Buckingham.
Sanders,		
	Terriers	Buckingham.
Mr. Bond,		Northampton.
Mr. Richardson,		Huntingdon.
Messrs. Bevil,	Manchester,	} Lancashire.
Goodwin,	Liverpool,	
Mr. Lynn,	Shrewsbury,	Shropeshire.
John Denman, M. D.	Bakewell,	Derbyshire.
Tho. Rutherford, M. D.		Durham.
Messrs. Lyde,	Brechnockshire,	} Wales
Bevan,	Glanmorganskire,	
Messrs. Houlton,	} Blake.	Dublin.
Sparrow,		
John Haley, M. D.		Cork.
John Mongan, M. D.	Strabane,	Tyrone
John M' Donell, M. D.	Cashel,	Tipperary.
Joseph Arnold,	Belfast,	Antrim.
Peter M' Kiough, M. D.		Galway.
Francis Gervais,	Naas,	Athy.
Messrs. Vachell,	} Ward,	} Soon to be appointed to particular districts in Ireland.
Doherty,		
Mr. Jewitt,		Jamaica.
Mr. Smith,		Virginia.

No person is at present in connection with the Sutton family whose name is not to be found in this list. Some other gentlemen, indeed, are in treaty to go abroad, the Suttons having been honoured with invitations from several foreign courts, and repeated applications from the principal inhabitants of many capital places. It is certainly no less just to the above gentlemen than to the public, to specify their names and districts of their practice, in order to prevent impositions; as it is natural to suppose that the great success attending, and emoluments arising from the suttonian art, may induce many to become imitators of their method of inoculation. And in fact this is so much the case, that in every county in England you meet with the advertisements of these pretenders and itinerants; whose frequent bad success has not a little hurt the practice; as they were supposed to be in partnership with the Suttons. Some of them as before observed, advertise that they inoculate according to the *new method*; others according to the *Suttonian method*; while others have the modesty to deck their imposition with the stile of, "*The Suttonian art improved*," without having ever acquired a tittle of the art itself. Nay some of these pretenders have not only the assurance to impose on the public themselves, under colour of practising the new discovered method, but actually appoint their agents for the same purpose. Some, I am informed since my arrival in Ireland, are now travelling over several parts of the kingdom, and are sent out by two persons in England who call themselves Porter and Perfect. But I can positively assure the public, that not even their principals, Porter and Perfect, much less their Agents, ever had the least connection with the Suttons. Whatever their practice is, it is their own. They may have gathered, indeed, some trifling

trifling advantages from the outlines of the Suttonian art, but in regard to the medicines, the principles or fundamentals of the practice, on which its great safety, success and singularity depend, neither they nor any man will ever ascertain, unless communicated to them.

I shall now take some notice of the respect that has been paid to the Suttonian art of inoculation by several eminent men of the faculty.——The learned Dr. Baker, physician to her Majesty's household, was the first who published his opinion of the practice. His pamphlet appeared about two years since in which he enquired into the causes of the success of inoculation, as practised by *a certain person and his sons*, (as he terms the Sutton family) in several parts of the kingdom. Dr. Baker had imbibed strong prejudices against the old method of inoculation, and therefore seemed pleased, thro' the whole of his pamphlet, with the new practice of which he had received many particular accounts. But as these accounts could furnish Dr. Baker with no certain information relative to the principles of the practice, he attributed the success of it, in general terms, to the *free use of cold air*.——This enquiry was followed by a letter from Dr. Glass, an eminent physician at Exeter, to Dr. Baker; in which he also mentions to have received many particular accounts of the practice of inoculation by *a certain family*. Dr. Glass was rather prejudiced in favour of the old method, and therefore gave it as his opinion, that the success of the Suttonian practice was founded on a *critical perspiration*.——These pamphlets were soon succeeded by another from Mr. Chandler, a Surgeon of considerable repute at canterbury. Mr. Chandler was so fully convinced of the rectitude of the Suttonian art, that he strove most earnestly to discover the principles of it, and to copy it in his own practice. He says, "every part of
" Mr. Sutton's practice shows the most accurate
B " judg:

“ judgment.” From hence an indifferent person would be apt to conclude that Mr. Chandler had discovered the art, even to the very minutiae of it. But the sagacious observer will not, perhaps, draw confident conclusions from Mr. Chandler’s treatise, when he is told, that this gentleman differs very essentially from the above physicians, and attributes the success of the Suttons to their inoculating patients with *crude variolous lymph*.

Dr. Dimfdale next appeared on this subject. His treatise is written with the best intention and with the utmost candour; and at once evinces the author to be a scholar and a gentleman: but whether his practice of inoculation is built on Suttonian principles I shall presently enquire.—Dr. Dimfdale informs us by his preface, that he practised inoculation many years before he adopted his present method; that he had considerable success, but yet saw much reason for improvements from the many inconveniencies and uncertainty that attended the practice. On which account he expresses himself in the following warm and grateful manner; “ In this situation I first heard, and with the
“ utmost satisfaction, that in some parts of the na-
“ tion, a new and more successful method of in-
“ oculating was discovered, than had hitherto
“ been practised; of which the relators gave most
“ incredible accounts.” And page 78, he says,
“ The reports, however, of this practice still
“ gained ground, and upon the strictest enquiry,
“ I found they were for the most part true, and
“ that such who were treated in this way, passed
“ thro’ the distemper in a more favourable man-
“ ner than my own patients, or those of the most
“ able practitioners in the old method of inocula-
“ tion;” and in the next page he adds; “ all
“ doubts were at last removed by the authentica-
“ ted accounts that I received of these particulars,
“ and of the good success that attended the prac-
tice

" tice."——From these passages it appears that Dr. Dimsdale had conceived the fullest conviction of the justness and safety of the new discoveries in inoculation; and therefore " as he thinks it our
 " duty to avail ourselves as much as possible of all
 " discoveries tending to the common benefit, he
 " embraced every just opportunity of informing
 " himself of facts, circumstances, and events,
 " that either public fame or more precise relations brought to him."——The result of all this was, that Dr. Dimsdale relinquished his old method of inoculation, and founded a practice on what report had told him of the new. He has the ingeniousness to acknowledge this; gives the merit where due, and speaks of " those being entitled to our gratitude who assisted us to this
 " important process."

That Dr. Dimsdale is a worthy good man; that he acquired knowledge from all he could discover of the Suttonian practice, and that he is a respectable inoculator, I readily allow; but that he has investigated the main principles of the new method, is acquainted with the medicines, and knows for what reasons, and under what circumstances they are administered, I must as readily deny. Positive proof of this it is impossible for me to give, consistent with my engagements; but the following circumstantial evidence must have weight in the eye of candour.

As it cannot be pretended that the Suttons ever communicated any part of their knowledge to Dr. Dimsdale, let us for a moment consider how much of the practice it was possible for him or any man to acquire from *report*. And that the fullest evidence may be given which the nature of the thing will admit. I will suppose that the Dr. received the authenticated accounts he speaks of, from numbers of patients inoculated by the Suttons.

The sum, then, of their united informations could amount to no more than this: " That they were
 " prepared with two or ~~three~~ doses of medicines
 " which differed in quantity according to their different
 " ages; that the preparative medicines
 " for children were not of the same colour as those
 " for adults:—that the operation on their arm
 " was very slight; that the Suttons frequently examined
 " their incision, after which they would
 " give one, two, three, or more pills, that a child
 " was sometimes ordered three pills, when a robust
 " man, inoculated at the same time, took
 " but one: that the pills operated on some by
 " stool; to others were diuretic, and on some
 " they had no sensible effect at all:—that about
 " the eighth or ninth day from the operation, they
 " sickened; when some had pills given them, others
 " a liquor called punch. The day after the
 " appearance of the eruptions, some were ordered
 " to eat meat and drink wine, while others
 " were to abstain; and that some few were ordered
 " meat and wine even before the eruption."

—No more information, if so much, could be given by the patients; from all which not a ray of light was to be seen, much less the principles of the practice discovered. For the patients could neither intimate the composition or nature of the medicines they took, as they differed in their operation on different persons: but more especially were they ignorant of the reasons for which the medicines were administered. They were as much at a loss to guess what induced the operator so frequently to view the incision; what were the symptoms he saw or wished to see; and whether the pills he administered were given in consequence of a good or bad appearance. They were as compleatly ignorant of the nature of the management during the eruptive state, and wholly at a loss to account for the difference they observed

ed in the treatment of patients; which varied in each of them in some stage of the disease or other. Four persons, for example, were inoculated the same time, when on the subsequent day two pills were given to one, four to another, a powder to the third, and nothing to the fourth; to reconcile which they were as unable, as to solve many other singularities they observed in the course of the practice.

No one I flatter myself, can accuse me of sophistry or want of candour in the above representation. It is a just and fair one; and the deductions I would wish to make must be obvious to every reader. I am not disputing the efficacy or safety of Dr. Dimsdale's practice, nor that of any other man: all that I insist on is, that the Suttonian art of inoculation is singular, is confined to themselves and partners, and cannot be attained by *report*. The externals of the practice are seen, but their fundamentals are hid; and will remain so, unless the learned of the faculty shake off a few of their stubborn *theoretical prejudices*, which have for centuries past blinded their understandings and led them into error. I will presume to go a step farther and assert, that I am positive the meanest of the Suttonian artists would gladly enter the lists with the first physician in the world, and inoculate with him head for head. The Sutton family have long most earnestly wished that the government would order a public trial to be made by the several artists who boast of their practice of inoculation. The subject is certainly of sufficient moment to deserve it. Were three or four hundred orphans appointed for the purpose, all cavilling would end; honour would be adjudged were due, and the superiority of the practice ascertained by comparison. It would then appear that numbers were mere pretenders to the art, that a private family had merited the universal thanks of mankind, and that " a few solid practical observations

“ (as Dr. Baker observes) are of more real value,
 “ than all the unsupported theories which the art
 “ of man ever invented.”

The publications hitherto mentioned were all in favour of the Suttonian method : but two pamphlets succeeded Dr. Dimisdale's, which were manifestly written to depreciate and decry the practice ; one by a Dr. Langton, the other by Mr. Bromfield, surgeon to the Princess Dowager of Wales. — Dr. Langton endeavoured to prove that it was not the Small-pox the Suttons inoculated, in opposition to above forty thousand instances. Mr. Bromfield strove to overturn the practice by presenting us with an account of the success of his own method, and finding great fault with every other. These two gentlemen attacked the Suttons with such inveteracy and indeed downright scurrility, that the discerning public justly suspected their interest to be much hurt by the new practice, and despised their publications. However Dr. Giles Watts, an eminent physician, was charitably concerned for their failings ; undertook to vindicate the new method of inoculation, and to answer all the objections of Dr. Langton and Mr. Bromfield. This he executed in so candid and satisfactory a manner, that I doubt those gentlemen will not be very fond of speedily appearing again in print.

Previous to Dr. Watts's vindication of the new method, I should inform the reader that the author has not the least acquaintance or connection with the Suttons. He seems to have written from the fullest conviction of the superiority of their practice, (having had four of his children inoculated by Mr. Peale, their partner) and with a most benevolent design ; to expose sinister objections, and to recommend a method calculated for the good of his fellow-creatures. Dr. Watts observes

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in his preface, " When Mr. Sutton first came in-
to Kent to inoculate, and such strange accounts
were almost daily received of the surprising success
of his practice, as were enough to stagger the
faith of any man, he himself, amongst others, was
much inclined to suppose there was some deception
or other in the matter. However as he had for
many years entertained an opinion that it was in
the power of art to render the Small-pox much
lighter on patients, than it generally proved in the
old way of inoculation, he was willing to suspend
his opinion of the matter, 'till he could have an
opportunity of seeing, himself, some of Mr. Sut-
ton's patients actually under the distemper. Seve-
ral such opportunities soon offered : and the author
had many times ocular demonstration, not only
that the distemper was extremely light on Mr.
Sutton's patients, but also that it was the *true ge-
nuine* Small-pox ; on which he was now no longer
surprised at the many accounts he had before heard
of this gentleman's great success." Dr. Watts
concludes his pamphlet as follows ; " I cannot
forbear thinking, that as the discovery of the pre-
sent improved method is an honour to the author
of it, so it reflects likewise the highest degree of
credit upon the art of medicines in general, that
it is thus enabled to triumph over a cruel and mer-
ciless distemper, which has, for some centuries past,
committed greater ravages amongst the human
species, than famine, the sword, or even, perhaps
the pestilence itself."

About this time also appeared a pamphlet by
Dr. Thomas Ruston, a physician well known in
London. His treatise related chiefly to the prac-
tice of inoculation in America, but nevertheless
he could not help paying the following compli-
ment to the new discovered method. " The
author (says Dr. Ruston) of the chief performances

that have been written of late, have professed no more than to attempt to find out a method, which has hitherto with great care been kept a secret; and such a curiosity was sufficiently justifiable *from the amazing success that has attended that practice.* —Dr. Ruston thinks the success is principally owing to *evacuations.*”

The last pamphlet on the subject was published a few months since, written by Dr. Watson, a member of the royal college of physicians. Dr. Watson's plan is only to give an account of the success of inoculation in the foundling hospital in London, to which he is one of the physicians. —It cannot therefore be expected that a gentleman will speak very sanguinely in favour of a practice, at a time that he is relating the success of his own. However he pays some respect to the Suttonian method, as follows; “The success of inoculation at the hospital has been such, as no practitioners need be ashamed of. Very great success has likewise attended inoculation in many parts of this kingdom; even tho' it has of late descended into very illiterate hands. But among these last, I do not mean to include a *certain family*, who have practised inoculation with great success. They have deserved well, not only on account of some real improvements they have made in this process, but also for the confidence they have excited in the public by which vast numbers have been inoculated, who otherwise would not.”

The opinion of his Majesty's physicians and surgeons, concludes the notice that has been taken by the faculty of the Suttonian practice of inoculation. But this opinion I can inform the reader, crept into one or two of the public papers solely against the inclinations of those satellites of physick. For it was intended only for the sight of the imperial ambassador, who had made an application to the Suttons to send an artist to Vienna. The proprietors

ctors of most of the papers were either ashamed or afraid to publish it; and lucky had it been for some others had they taken the same precaution. This opinion is so repleat with inconsistencies and contradictions, that it is difficult to say whether it is written for or against the Suttons. His Majesty's physicians and surgeons condescend to allow that the Suttons have made "some improvements in the art of inoculation," that by strictly adhering to the cool regimen, by a judicious treatment, and by an observance of some other rules, their great success is to be ascribed." Nay these high and mighty ones have the goodness to intimate, that notwithstanding the Suttons may meet with a miscarriage or two, yet it is no objection to their practice. But alas! these are short-lived compliments:—for in other parts of the opinion we are told, that the greatest success attended inoculation *before the time of the Suttons*," notwithstanding they are allowed to have *made improvements in the practice*; "that the cool regimen has proved *unsuccessful*" notwithstanding they ascribe the great success of the Suttons to their *exposing patients to cold air*; and "that their practice has frequently done harm," notwithstanding they allow a miscarriage or two to be no *objection to it*. But there is an insinuation couched in the concluding sentence of the opinion, which would have better become the pens of a set of Jesuits. Thus it stands; "All their (Suttons) improvements have been adopted by other inoculators, and in the hands of these the art seems to be carried to very great perfection." That is, in the hands of the Suttons the art is not carried to great perfection, they being not masters of their own improvements. If I have given this sentence a perverse interpretation, his Majesty's physicians and surgeons intended to express, that others, who adopted the improvements, carried the art to very great perfection, but that the Suttons themselves

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carried it to the *greatest perfection*. But I doubt much this last interpretation; it suits not with the general tenour of the opinion; neither would such a compliment been *prudent*, if they wished the Suttons not to send an artist to Vienna.

Here then was a positive, magisterial, tho' an inconsistent contradictory opinion of a practice given, by men, in fact, who were never the least conversant in it. Is not every candid man moved with indignation when he is told that not one of those mighty dictators ever saw the progress of inoculation on a single patient of the Suttons; much less know their medicines, and the general ground work of their practice. They have attributed the success of the Suttons principally to exposing patients to *cold air*; but the Suttons to convince the world how totally ignorant his majesty's physicians and surgeons are of the real causes of their success, are ready to enter the lists with them for ten thousand pounds, will inoculate any number of patients proposed, and will be bound not to *expose a single one of them to the cold air*. The cold air may be serviceable, but it is not *indispensably necessary*; and comparatively speaking, is one of the least *essentials* in the Suttonian art of inoculation.— Their opinion affords an ample field for criticism and ridicule; but as the Suttons have commenced a prosecution against their high mightinesses, I shall leave them to a court, that will doubtless, justly reward them for *truth* and *candour*, for their *impartial* and *disinterested* conduct.

Thus have I taken notice of every publication, *pro* and *con*, relative to the Suttonian practice. Many are the eminent physicians, whose names I could wish to mention, who daily inforce it by their recommendation. Sir John Pringle, has, indeed, so publickly espoused the practice, at home and among his learned physical acquaintance

ance at foreign courts, that the Suttons are happy always to acknowledge the honour with the utmost gratitude.

Nothing throws greater influence and credit on the Suttonian art, than the various causes to which the foregoing writers have assigned the success of it. Difference of opinion in so essential a point, is a plain demonstration that there is something *singular*, something *more* in the practice than they are able to fathom. Had the Suttons *only* "observed common and former rules" as his majesty's physicians and surgeons would insinuate, whence this disagreement about the cause of their success? what necessity for all these publications? Whence this universal clamor and encouragement of the practice? But that the reader may make his own reflections on this circumstance, I shall give him a full view at once of the difference of these opinions.

Dr. Baker attributes the success of the Suttonian practice to a "free use of cold air."

Dr. Glas—"to a critical perspiration."

Mr. Chandler—"to the inoculating with crude variolous lymph."*

Dr. Dimisdale—"to the inoculating with recent fluid matter, and in the management of the patients at the time of the eruption." Query, what is that management?

Dr. Ruston—"to evacuations."

His Majesty's physicians and surgeons—"to exposing patients to cold air, and the judi-

* Dr. Watts asserts page 39. "He has seen a great number of persons inoculated in the new way with well concocted yellow matter, taken from the natural, as well as the inoculated Small-pox, all of whom had the distemper full as lightly as those who have been inoculated with *crude variolous lymph*."

ous observance of some other rules." Query, what rules?

All the above gentlemen write very speciously and positively; but whom are we to credit! what will the reader think of me if I declare, and which I now do in the most sacred manner, and appeal to any future discovery of the practice by the Suttons for the truth of my assertion, that none of the above opinions develops the chief basis of the Suttonian art of Inoculation.

Before I conclude, perhaps the reader will expect that I should mention the number of patients which have been inoculated by the Suttons and their partners since their discovery of the new method; as also the number that have died. These particulars cannot be accurately ascertained, as the accounts of the foreign partners have not as yet been delivered in, and as several hundreds of poor have been inoculated, whose names were not entered. However on an examination of the family books, and those of all their partners in England, it appeared a few months since, that about fifty five thousand had been inoculated by them since the year 1760; of which number six only had died. It has been found, that those Arguments are not the best which *prove too much*: I shall not attempt therefore, however true, to convince the public that four of those six died of accidental disorders, which were totally independant of the small-pox, and that the deaths of the other two were absolutely owing to their own and friends imprudence and Breach of the rules prescribed. But if the enemies of the practice think proper, I will allow that four times six patients have died, provided they will favour the public with a more safe and excellent method of inoculation than the Suttonian.

On candid consideration it will appear almost miraculous that so few have miscarried, not from inoculation,

inoculation, but from accidental disorders during the time of the progress of it. I am not skilled in the doctrine of chances; if the reader is, let him calculate the number of deaths that may reasonably happen among fifty thousand persons from accidental complaints, in the space of three weeks* supposing they were all well and healthy at the commencement of the reckoning. I doubt not but according to the common chance of things five times more may be expected to die than have miscarried under the Suttons and their partners. If so, how greatly may the chances be encreased by including the act of inoculation! And yet we see much fewer have died in the space of three weeks, who have been *made ill*, than might be expected, *independent of inoculation*, in the same number of persons, who were perfectly healthy preceding the day of calculation. Add to these considerations the many excesses, irregularities and violations of rules prescribed to the patients, their friends, or attendants; the effects of which, by the bye, have been frequently unjustly attributed to a deficiency in the art itself, by the prejudiced, the ignorant and self-interested. If these circumstances with many others which could be mentioned, were weighed in the scales of unbiassed reason, the Suttonian art of inoculation would be found not only infinitely superior to every other practice existing, but worthy the gratitude and admiration of mankind. In a word, was the success of the practice examined by the strictest rules of impartiality and truth, it would be demonstrated that its *general tendency* was so beneficial to the world, that no *singular accident*, which was a *fact*, much less idle and ridiculous reports, would lay a foundation for real objections. I observed before,

* The time that patients are generally under inoculation.

that nothing has hurt the Suttonian art so much as the ill success of those who have *attempted*, without instruction, to practice it. They gull the public, by professing to inoculate according to the *new method*, and bring disgrace on the true practice by their presumption and ignorance. The Suttonian artists would be easy was the prejudice to rest here; but the ill success of pretenders and adventurers is frequently laid at the doors of the Suttons or their partners, when they have never seen the party who has died, or been severely handled by such inoculation. I could instance reports of this kind, that I have heard repeatedly since my arrival in Dublin. But I will not, I cannot suppose the unsuccessful operators encouraged such reports; therefore I shall be silent: and indeed, no man is infallible. All I wish is, in justice to the merit of the Suttonian discoveries, that every inoculator would father the offspring of his own practice, and that many would be satisfied of the *truth of a report* before they give it credit: by which means honour and dishonour would be ascribed where due, and many a *reputed* parent of success, and ill success would be found not the *real* one.

I now conclude by observing, that I am sensible many will imagine I have written the more sanguine in defence of the Suttonian practice of inoculation, because I am interested and concerned in it. The suggestion, I confess, is so natural, that it would have occurred to me in the person of any other man. I beg leave, however, to reply, that there is not a principal circumstance in the foregoing pages, relative to the practice, but what any one may ascertain by easy and speedy enquiry. To the facts themselves I appeal. To many honoured names of princes and nobility do I appeal. To thousands of respectable gentry,
and

and all degrees of people, in England, do I thus humbly appeal for a confirmation of this account, of the superior safety and ease, the singular dispatch, and unparaleted and extensive success of the Suttonian art of inoculation.

The following is extracted from the Public Papers.

THE noblest and most useful discoveries, in their introduction to the public, are attended by such manifold disadvantages; and the authors of them so frequently loaded with the grossest calumnies and undeserved reproach, that nothing less than a degree of enthusiasm bordering upon madness, or a conviction of rectitude next to divine could ever enable them to stem the torrent. In an extravagant proportion to merit, the opposition becomes violent and unreasonable, as if mankind had taken up arms against conviction, and had engaged in perpetual enmity to reason and improvement. Hence Society has been deprived of many great and ingenious inventions, while future ages deplore their loss, and reflect with detestation on the base engines of their defeat. 'Tis the constant practice of low and contracted minds to endeavour to frustrate what they cannot equal; and to condemn what they would wish to possess. Sophistry and positive assertions are obtruded upon the world for argumentation; personal satire and scurrility for candour and plain dealing; and every thing is branded with infamy which seems to clash with their selfish views. Doubtless these observations have occurred to thousands before, as every age and nation must have experienced the force of them, but were never more strongly verified than in the opposition to the Suttonian Art of Inoculation, instances of which have been abundantly produced and confuted in Mr. Houlton's pamphlet, notwithstanding which a recent attack has been made, set forth and fully disproved as follows:

To the P U B L I C.

IT has been universally asserted, that the city of Bath is now, or was lately, crowded with persons of both sexes labouring under various disorders from the Suttonian Inoculation, and that the general hospital there is filled with patients from the same cause; and to give it the greater credit and authority, 'tis artfully sheltered under the most respectable name of a Lady of the first distinction and character, from whence it was concluded, that tho' 'twas proper to prove the whole an invidious calumny, without the least shadow of fact to support it, yet, as probably the noble Lady, as well as the Public, might have been imposed upon by some fictitious accounts, the most uncontrovertable demonstration of the contrary ought to be procured. Application was made to a correspondent in Bath, and writings signed by all the Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries of that city, to the number of thirty gentlemen of distinguished honour and eminence in their professions, setting forth, " That there never has been a single patient under their care, or to their knowledge, in the city of Bath, with any disorder or complaint arising from the Suttonian Art, or method of inoculation." For the farther satisfaction of such as require it, the originals are lodged in the hands of Mr. George Faulkner for their inspection. The Public are also desired to observe, that Mr. Houlton having inserted in his pamphlet, treating of the success and progress of the Suttonian method of inoculation, that he jointly with Messrs. Sparrow and Blake, would receive gentlemen, properly qualified, into partnership, for the more effectually extending said new method in IRELAND, a person was highly recommended as every way proper to be admitted a Partner, and to inoculate after Mr. Sutton's method, was accordingly received, and his name inserted in said pamphlet, as soon to be appointed to a particular district. It has since been discovered, that he was never regularly bred to any branch of physic or surgery, but on the contrary in a mechanic way, quite foreign to physic, which must, of course, entirely cut off any future connection with them as an Inoculator; and they think it their duty to inform the Public, that he is totally unqualified to inoculate or conduct patients in their manner: And that they will admit no persons into partnership but such as can produce testimonials of being regularly bred to the professions of physic or surgery, in order that the said new method of inoculating may be conducted with judgment, safety and success; and will also, from time to time, insert in the public papers, the names and destination of all such as are by them duly instructed and appointed, that the public may be truly informed who really are, and guarded against all pretended, practitioners of the Suttonian Art of Inoculation. The only authorized practitioners, now in Ireland, or any way under their instruction or protection, are as follows, viz.

Messrs. Houlton, A. M.	} Surgeons,	} Dublin.
Blake,		
Sparrow,		
John Haley, M. D.	—	Corke
John Mongan, M. D.	—	Strabane, — Tyrone.
Joseph Arnold, Surgeon,	—	Belfast, — Antrim.
John M'Donell, M. D.	—	Cashell, — Tipperary.
Francis Gervais, Surgeon, Co. of		Kildare,
Richard Doherty, Surgeon	—	Carlow,
Peter M'Keogh, D. M.	—	Galway,
Messrs. Vachell,	} Surgeons,	} Soon to be appointed to particular districts.
Ward,		